302 [85 cont.] Unmarried girls apparently wear the hair short, whereas the married women let it grow bushy (Fig. 15).

●184 291 301 [302] According to our reports, which, however, are not detailed, the clothing and ornaments of the Reef Islanders correspond completely with those of Ndeni. Only beards seem to have been more common in former times (4). In the essential things

4. Burney, p. 290. Coote, pp. 150, 154: nose ring, ear chains, apron of the men, Trochus arm rings (also Fig. 16), chest disk. According to him, however, the women there are also laden with ear chains. Markham, p. 145, also mentions ear rings and nose rings on Lomlom. Joest, Tagebuch, p. 90: hair bleached two different shades, but also Papuan wig; torn ear lobes.

the same applies for Vanikoro (5). In Dillon's description, al-

5. Dillon, pp. 292, 153. Beards infrequent according to Lesson in Revue d'Anthropologie, V, pp. 260 and 263 (a beard is worn, for example, by the priest-sovereign Moëmbe).

though it is based on an error of observation, the bark belt with the black [86] rattan spiral is clearly recognizable (1). His

[113] 1. Dillon, II, pp. 154, 275. Furthermore, D'Urville, Atlas, Pl. 178, 1; 185. Sainson in D'Urville, p. 355. Lesson in Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 263.

[114] statement that the three-foot long, one-foot wide apron of the men is also made of tapa, which contradicts D'Urville, is almost certainly likewise based on faulty observation (2);

[86 cont.]

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certainly likewise based on faulty observation (2); according to

2. Dillon, ibid. D'Urville, p. 214.

his report, a tail made of the leaf of the fan palm is stuck into the belt in back (3). The women wear the bark belt like the men

3. Dillon, p. 154.

and with it the skirt reaching to the knees; otherwise they wear little ornamentation (4). The necklaces, shell arm-rings and the

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4. Dillon, pp. 177, 229, 275. D'Urville, p. 166; on p. 214 he identifies the women's apron with that of the men, but this probably does not mean that they, too, wear the woven apron. Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 264.

patterned arm-bands, and the hip and knee ornaments are also worn on Vanikoro, as are the chest disk and the ear chains, which number up to 30 rings and distend the ear lobe as much as six inches (5). In addition, however, wooden ear plugs up to five

[304]

5. Dillon, pp. 154, 276. D'Urville, pp. 135 f., 214, and Atlas, Pl. 167, 178, 185. On pp. 135 f. he mentions arm rings of tortoise shell, as well as leg rings of mussel shells and tortoise shell, which are not mentioned anywhere else. According to p. 166, however, some of these may be chains of shell disks, as is certainly the case for the wrist ornaments. All these references are very summarily stated. According to D'Urville, p. 182, the natives especially prize their arm bands and

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[86 cont.]

would not part with them for a long time, even for a high price. Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, pp. 264 f.

inches in diameter were put into the pierced ear lobe, as well as leaf spirals which gradually enlarge the hole (6). The septum

6. D'Urville, pp. 164, 214, 355 (Sainson); Atlas, Pl. 136; 167; 176; 178; 2-3; 185.

holds a rod, a shell peg, or, according to Dillon, two white chicken feathers (7), whereas D'Urville's illustrations show rings

7. D'Urville, p. 135, and Atlas, Pl. 167, 3; 176, 5; 178, 5. According to Sainson in D'Urville, p. 355, the rod is of bone; according to Lesson, p. 265, sometimes of a cachalot tooth.

in the nostrils (8).

8. D'Urville, Atlas, Pl. 178, 4.

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Only the hair style of Vanikoro shows a striking peculiarity. Here, too, boys wear the crest of hair, and older men, as on Ndeni, color the hair, which is cut quite short, white with lime. The young men, however, let the hair grow long; according to Dillon, they even take the hair of the dead or of slain enemies, gather it all together into a conical structure, and cover it with bark cloth, preferably red in color. The entire structure reaches a height of more than 12 inches and, as a result of its weight, often sinks down onto the back. The edge of the tapa covering is decorated with flowers and chains of beads (9). Dillon is the [87] only author who mentions a similar

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9. Dillon, pp. 154, 275, and

[87 cont.]

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frontispiece. D'Urville, pp. 215, 355 Sainson); Atlas, Pl. 136, 167, 176, 185. Lesson in Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 264. F. de Tolna, p. 268.

[324] hair style on Ndeni, namely, "caps of bark cloth, coconut leaves, or fan-palm leaves, resembling a sugar loaf" (1).

1. Dillon, p. 292. However, cf. F. de Tolna, pp. 275 and 281, as well as the figure of the menata (p.149 below) and in connection with it the probably erroneous statement by Joest in Baessler, p. 377, about the palm leaves, etc. worn as protection against the sun (Tagebuch, p. 77).

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[302] According to Dillon, the young women wear the same hair style, but he may have mistaken the cloth that the women wear on their heads, like those on Ndeni according to an illustration in D'Urville (2), and that is drawn together cap-shaped on

2. D'Urville, Atlas, Pl. 136. To be sure, D'Urville, too, p. 215, makes no distinction between the hair style of the two sexes.

their heads with a string, for the above-described hair style of the young men (3). A peculiarity of female costumes -- not an

3. Dillon, p. 177, and D'Urville, p. 164, mention the short hair of the women, Dillon even in the case of a chief's daughter.

adornment -- is the band worn across the chest, with which they draw the breasts together above the nipples (4).

4. D'Urville, p. 164; Atlas, Pl. 136.

[90 cont.]

342 [346] The Spanish reports do not say whether these two huts differed in shape from the others (1). In the more recent reports,

1. Dalrymple, p. 194. Burney, p. 168. The report about the existence of two-story huts must be regarded as trustworthy. It would only have been possible for Figueroa to have confused them with the pile houses of Isabel. Two-story houses occur frequently in New Guinea.

[114]

Carteret, Coote, and Joest describe the bachelors' houses as rectangular (2). Dillon says the spirit houses and bachelors'

2. Carteret, p. 358. Coote, ill., p. 162. Joest in Baessler, p. 394. D'Entrecasteaux, p. 379, mentions only rectangular huts.

houses are round, but he seems to be confused about the house types (3). [Fig. 20 appears here.] The shape of the dwelling

[184]

3. Dillon, p. 314. He maintains that the dwellings contain 40 to 50 persons each, which obviously refers to the bachelors' houses.

apparently differs in the various parts of the island; Markham and Joest describe them as round (4), whereas D'Entrecasteaux

4. Markham, p. 165. Joest in Baessler, p. 394.

mentions only rectangular huts, which, [91] according to Codrington's informants, formed the majority by far (1). The

[98 cont.]

wall, with only one entrance and no gate" [cited in English]. Cf. also Moresby, p. 83.

[99] Economy

Like all the South Sea islanders, the inhabitants of the Santa Cruz group live primarily on vegetable food. Here, too, of course, one of the most important foods is coconut; in addition, bananas, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and breadfruit are commonly mentioned for the different islands, the last in two forms on Vanikoro, the wild form with seeds and the cultivated one without seeds. For Ndeni the Spanish reports also mention two species of almonds and pine cones, the latter also for Taumako; Dillon and D'Entrecasteaux also mention yams, cucumbers, and mangosteens on the main island, a fruit called etea on Tahiti, and on the same island a nut called mararé, neither of which I was able to identify; Joest mentions a chestnut-like fruit called nde. Yams, Inocarpus, sago, Spondias, pandanus, and arrowroot are listed for Vanikoro. The most important foods, however, besides coconut, are taro and yams, and they seem to a certain extent to be vicarious on the different parts of the group. Taro plays the principal role on Vanikoro where yams occur only in the wild state, not cultivated. On Ndeni, on the other hand, taro is grown and used, but the greatest attention is given to the yam (1).

1. Dalrymple, pp. 88 f, 127. Carteret, pp. 351, 358. D'Entrecasteaux, pp. 369, 378. Labillardière, p. 253. Dillon, pp. 181, 238, 273, 293, 312. D'Urville, pp. 146, 170, 179, 215 f., etc. The same, Voyage au Pole Sud, V, p. 9. Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie,

[121 cont.]

Caption for Fig. 50.

285 415 293 1-6 and 8. Made of strips of pandanus leaves (R.-J.-M. 3857, 3846, 3863, 3872, 3902, 3910, and 3915, Joest Coll.); about 35, 30, 22, and 20 cm. high, 33, 31, and 35 cm. in diameter. 7. (Sack) of soft fiber (R.-J.-M. 3866, Joest Coll.); 46 cm. deep. 9 and 10. Made of strips of coconut leaves (R.-J.-M. 3843 and 3841, Joest Coll.); about 34 and 25 cm. in diameter.

[123 cont.]

285 the lower edge are plaited in toward the corners, but rather the center ones form a short plaited [Fig. 52 appears here] lappet on either side, which, in turn ends in a braid-like cord that is drawn up through the sides of the bag and serves as a carrying-strap (Fig. 51, Nos. 2 and 3).

As for baskets, only the well-known cylindrical baskets of plaited coconut leaves are present. Among them, too, the edge is single-meshed, and then the main portion of the sides is plaited in triple-mesh with strips in one-half or one-third widths. The bottom consists of half the number of strips, though in each case several are gathered together, and is single-meshed; in one specimen, another narrow single-meshed zone is previously inserted. The excess strips, plaited into rings, lie spirally under the edge of the basket bottom (Fig. 52). [Fig. 53 appears here.]

286 [171] A knowledge of weaving gives the culture of Santa Cruz a special character in contrast to the rest of Melanesia (1).

1. Dalrymple, p. 194. According to Thilenius, Globus, LXXXI, p. 134, it is practiced on Ndeni only along the coast, and the fabric is traded to the people of the bush for bark cloth.

[184 438] Banana fiber is the material used, but it is considerably wider

[150 cont.]
769 breadfruit, successful [151] voyages, or other things (1). Totem
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1. Cf. related conceptions on the Banks Islands in Codrington, pp. 119ff., 191ff.

affiliation, however, may also be decisive.

778 On one of the Reef Islands, Temami, as well as on the
[184] southern islands Utupua and Vanikoro, there are no duka posts, but there are spirit huts, which in part are identical with the meeting houses. In some of them stones are erected as representations of the spirits which there are called atua, the Polynesian designation. On Vanikoro they also contain triton shells and the skulls of the deceased. The atua appears as an animal, for example, a crab, ant, or fish (2). On Ndeni, too, there

2. O'Ferrall, p. 230. D'Urville, pp. 178f; 356 (Sainson); 326ff, 334, 344 (Gaimard). Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 267f. According to Gaimard, p. 327, taro in particular seems to be sacrificed.

are sacred stones, although they are very rare. Codrington mentions that betel nuts are placed on such sacred stones for
241 the spirits (3). The one called kio (bird) is mentioned in par-

3. Codrington, pp. 139, 180.

ticular; when an area is planted and at harvest time, he is offered feather money and food, and among them there is always a bird, presumably so that birds will not devastate the
778 planting. Another stone, metabo, which resembles a huge fruit and has four smaller ones lying near it, is supposed to have come from the volcano Temami (Tinakula) and is therefore regarded as having great magical power (4). It appears

[159 cont.]

121 unnecessary to follow the cultural processes backward step by step, as one is usually forced to do, and thus gradually, by a kind of subtraction, peel off the older cultural complexes. On the basis of some preliminary studies that are available (3), I

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3. F. Graebner, "Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Oceanien [Culture Circles and Culture Layers in Oceania]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, XXXVII (1905), pp. 28 ff. Stephan and Graebner, Neu-Mecklenburg, pp. 158 ff.

can immediately go to the heart of the matter and treat the cultural epochs in their chronological sequence.

x 174 The basic layer of Santa Cruz culture is evidently that complex which, as in the rest of Melanesia, goes with the social system of exogamous patriarchal-totemistic local groups. The system has been preserved in absolute purity on Santa Cruz only in individual areas; in others the local character, on Nufiloli the patriarchy, seems to have disappeared (4). The same is true of

• [164]

4. Cf. p. 128 where only O'Ferrall's account shows the local character.

x 171 the rest of Melanesia where the pure form is verified only for the islands of the Torres Strait and the neighboring parts of New Guinea, as well as along Collingwood Bay, on New Hanover and the adjacent areas of New Ireland, and on Kunie (Isle of Pines) and the Fiji Islands (5). The totemistic character of the

[113]

5. Report on the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits, V, pp. 162ff. Pöch in Sitz.-Ber. d. Kais. Akad. d. Wiss., Vienna, Math.-Nat. Section,

/172 cont./

342 carefully the houses are built /Fig. 12a appears here/, that is, the sticks with the palm leaves are placed closer together or farther apart, which determines the thickness of the roof. The ridge of the roof is usually covered with a beam, often a discarded canoe, weighted down with blocks of coral (3). As superficial protection

3. [Speiser, Südsee, Ill. 92, top.]

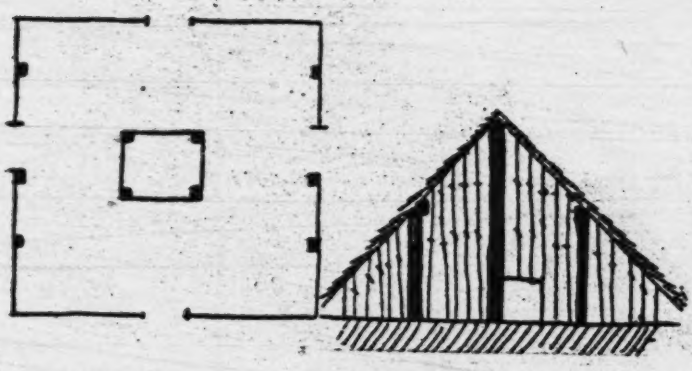

Fig. 12a. Floor plan and interior of the gabled wall of a men's house; 7 meters wide, door-opening 1 meter wide, hearth 1.5 meters square. (Drawn by Speiser.)

for the roof, plain or plaited coconut leaves are laid on it (4).

4. [See also Ethn., I, p. 89, Fig. 19. The same on Utupua, Figs. 21 and 22 (on the origin, cf. above, p. 10, footnote 2).]

Many of the family houses are very similar to the men's houses.

/173/ Inland the architecture is somewhat different.

[84] Instead of upright boards, the gable walls are built of horizontal bamboos tied together one above the other, and at one end of the house there is often a semicircular, roofed front part.

/189 cont./

Navigation and Trade

501 484 184

The large sailboats (2) are not built on Nitendi itself,

2. [Ethn., I, pp. 106 ff. They are called tepukei (O'Ferrall, section "Sailing Canoe") and can carry about ten men, according to Coombe, p. 197.]

and the natives there possess only a few of them, for they scarcely have occasion to leave their island which offers them almost everything. The few imported articles (chiefly women) are [939] brought to them by the Reef and Duff Islanders, who are the true seafarers of the group. /Fig. 33 appears here./ The Duff Islanders are said to be the best boatbuilders (3). They travel to

3. [The sailboats in Ethn., I, pp. 107 f., Figs. 39 and 40, also belong to Reef Islanders, as has now been discovered (cf. above, p. 10, footnote 2). For other, more recent illustrations of the same boats, see O'Ferrall, op. cit.; Coombe, plate accompanying p. 172; Speiser, Südsee, Ill. 98.]

Nitendi periodically in order to repair the sailboats sold there (4).

4. [Cf. O'Ferrall, op. cit. Boats are also built on Matema (Coombe, p. 197).]

501 The small boats, on the other hand, are built on Nitendi itself (5).

5. [Rowboats from Nitendi have recently been illustrated in: O'Ferrall, illustration accompanying section "Canoes around the

3:Davenport E-5 (1958-1960)1962
C013 Santa Cruz C013

[795 (D)]

131 are scattered over some 15,000 square miles of the Pacific Ocean just north of the New Hebrides Islands. Santa Cruz, a volcanic island, is the largest in the group as well as its financial center. About 25 miles to the north is a chain of small coral islets called the Reef Islands, and midway between these and Santa Cruz [133] is Tinakula, a volcano too spectacularly [361] active for human settlement. The Duff Islands, 60 miles northeast of the Reefs, are remnant peaks of a narrow volcanic ridge. The only other large islands of the group are Utupua and Vanikoro, respectively some 40 and 60 miles south of Santa Cruz.

177 Partly as the result of a long history of inhospitality to visiting mariners and missionaries, the islands were left pretty much to themselves even through the first two decades of this century, when colonial powers were asserting dominion over other islands in the Pacific. It was not until 1923 that the British assumed [648] direct administration of the islands, which they had claimed since 1899, and only since World War II has the Santa Cruz group actually been drawn into the 161 current of world affairs. Today some 7,000 people inhabit the islands, most of them concentrated along the north coast of Santa Cruz and in the eastern Reef Islands. The people of the Duffs 144 and the western Reefs speak a Poly- 197 nesian language and are racially similar to the Polynesians of the central Pacific islands. The darker Melanesians of the eastern Reefs and Santa Cruz itself speak four local languages that constitute an independent language family. Melanesians also live on Utupua and Vanikoro, but their three languages belong to the large Malayo-Polynesian 184 family. The cultures of Santa Cruz and 436 the islands north of it are similar in spite 438 of language and racial differences, and it is through this area that the red-

3:Davenport E-5 (1958-1960)1962
OH13 Santa Cruz OH13

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[184]

feather money circulates. Utupua and Vanikoro have different cultures and do not use feather currency, although their economy is closely linked to that of the red-feather islands.

Diversity and specialization, necessitated in part by differences in geology and geography, characterize the econ-

[+96(A)]

WHEN A PRIMITIVE AND A CIVILIZED MONEY MEET

William Davenport

IT IS A COMMON story these days to read of a primitive economic system or even large segments of an entire social structure which have become greatly altered by the direct or indirect effects of the society coming into contact and participation with the Western money economy. It is held by many that the universality of our money, a medium by which standardized values can be fixed to almost any good or service, is one of the main factors in this kind of change, for primitive societies are frequently organized around more than one system of valuation. One anthropologist[1] has termed this "multicentric," by which he refers to the fact that one system of valuation is frequently applicable to a limited set of transactions, while a different system is required in another set, and moreover, that these are not in theory convertible.

I shall attempt here to outline the current situation among some islands in the southwest Pacific where this is *not* the case. Here Australian money is competing with an indigenous system of universal currency, which, for all we know, has been in existence for centuries. It is an unusual situation, for owing to their economic behavior which is determined by a strong profit motive, the people want both, yet the native currency is disappearing.

The Santa Cruz Group, lying two hundred miles east of the main British Solomons, are a complex of volcanic islands, true atolls, and raised atolls in which live about six thousand people.[2] They speak eight different languages: one Polynesian, three other Malayo-Polynesian but of a different stock from Polynesian, and four others, related to each other, but as yet unrelated to anything else. The northern part of this group consists of Santa Cruz Island, the largest; the Reef Islands, thirty miles to the north; and the Duff Islands, still fifty miles further out to the northeast. The culture in these is, by Melanesian standards, fairly homogeneous, and from the economic point of view, it is convenient to think of them as participating in a single economic system.

One of the striking things about this island economy is the number of district and island specialties. These embrace a wide range of skills and services, among which are agricultural specialties, animal husbandry, fishing techniques, and many arts and crafts such as canoe making, loom weaving, and clothing and ornament manufacture. Some of these crafts require the bringing of raw materials from one district or island to another before the products are manufactured and the finished goods are redistributed throughout the group. These specialties are largely inherited patrilineally, and many are protected from expropriation by others by magical and supernatural means. Despite this individuality in production, there is a high correlation of certain specialties with the ecological zone within which it is found. For example, specialized fishing techniques are to be found associated with types of reefs, with lagoons, or their absence; pig breeding with abun-

1, 2 [For footnotes, see category 116, page 68.-Analyst]

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[131]
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[428]

438 dant sandy areas where coconuts can be grown to feed them; taro production with a special type of soil; and types of arboriculture with rainfall zones and forestry cover.

184] As implied by this individual and regional specialization, there is a complex system of trade through which these products are distributed. But this trade is far more than a means of conveying products of one area to another. It is a system in which all those who participate do so with the intention of making a profit. It is real commerce, and the

[556] wealth amassed in this way is expended in bride prices, maturation feasts, rituals, and entertainments through which the initiators and organizers derive prestige. In the familiar Melanesian pattern, prestige, wealth, and authority are but three aspects of the same thing, namely, the political system.

[436] While goods of many kinds flow in several directions, there are some goods which move only in specific directions, and which are basic to the entire system. One of these is feather currency, in terms of which all transactions are made. This is an all-purpose currency, and it is made only on Santa Cruz Island. Its manufacture demands the combined skills of three different hereditary specialists. The currency itself is a belt, six

436 fathoms long, about two inches wide, and made of feathers, fiber, and cord. The feathers
287 are the red down from the breast, head, and back of a small honeysucker *(Myzomela*
[825] *cardinalis)*. Catching these birds in the forest and plucking the down from them is one of the specialties. The second specialty consists of pasting the red down onto platelets or shingles made of ordinary wood pigeon *(Columba* sp.) feathers with the sticky sap taken

[824] from the fruit of the paper mulberry *(Broussonetia papyrifera)*. The third specialist binds these shingles onto a cord foundation to make the finished belt. A piece of finished currency has one surface of red down and an undersurface which shows only the binding. The feathered surface, made up of overlapping shingles, sometimes resembles the flexible scutes of a snake.

435 Feather currency is perishable, for it gets damaged and worn with use and by the
436 ravages of vermin, molds, and mildews. As it gets worn and damaged, it decreases in value and eventually becomes worthless. Thus, new currency must be fed into the system to replace that which is worn out and discarded. Feather currency is of absolutely no other use than as a medium of exchange, a standard of value, and as a means of storing wealth. It cannot be worn, it is not displayed, and it cannot be converted into any other usable form. From this it can be seen that it has all the properties of true money, yet it circulates as a commodity in a free market without regulation except for those forces created by supply and demand. Unlike our money, which we distinguish from commodities, feather currency has some of the properties of durable goods whose value depreciates over time. The original value of a piece of currency is determined by its size and the richness of its color when new. These criteria are reducible to the number of birds used and the amount of labor required for its construction. For an average piece today,

[287] about three hundred birds are necessary. The total labor required by all three specialties is roughly ten to eleven work weeks or about five hundred to six hundred and fifty man-hours. Depreciation of the currency is measured also by two criteria: the amount of red down worn off through handling and defects caused by insects and tropical growths. When the last bit of red disappears from the top surface, the currency becomes valueless and is thrown away.

In addition to the value as determined by the four criteria just mentioned, every piece of currency has its rarity value. This rarity value is always negotiated separately when currencies are exchanged, that is, when one piece is changed for two or more of lower value. The rarity value is an expression of how badly the purchaser of a highly valued piece wants it, and this, of course, is determined by its scarcity. It is a fact that the

higher the value of a piece of currency, the fewer there are; thus the rarity value increases with the value as determined by its condition. Translated in terms of our own money, it would be as if a ten-dollar bill was worth more than ten one-dollar bills because there are fewer of them in circulation. Unlike our money again, feather currency has no numerical units of value which permit easy and exact equivalencies to be made. Rather, the value of this exotic currency is not unlike that of precious gems, were they to be used as a medium of exchange. Each stone would be unique as to quality and size, and value could only be determined by recognized criteria of excellence plus the condition of the market. 495 436

Currency flows outward from its source throughout Santa Cruz Island and on to the Reef and Duff Islands in the north. These latter islands constitute areas of perennial shortage. Balancing this one-way flow of currency is a reverse movement of the most valuable commodity of all--women. The Reef Islands send out some of their women in exchange for bride prices paid in feather currency. Santa Cruz Island never sends its women abroad under any circumstances. Formerly, these women came to Santa Cruz both as wives and as concubines. The concubines were clearly distinguished from wives by the fact that they were shared by a group of men in a form of polyandry; they did no gardening or other domestic tasks normally assigned to women; and while they enjoyed a specially favored social position, they could be purveyed as prostitutes, sold outright, or even killed by the will of their owners alone. Bride prices for concubines were much higher than for ordinary wives--ten times higher to be exact. Due to government regulations, wives only are brought to Santa Cruz Island nowadays, but these are the prestigeful marriages, and their bride prices are larger than those of domestic unions. 438 [595] [548] [583] [554]

This one-way movement of women is correlated with an interesting population phenomenon. Santa Cruz Island population statistics reveal an abundance of males as compared with females of marriageable age, while in the Reef Islands the ratio is nearly even. This abundance of men is a phenomenon which has been noted in other Melanesian and New Guinea populations, but it has neither been investigated nor explained. [162]

The Duff Islands in the extreme northeast corner of the group come into the economic picture, not by sending out women, but by being specialists in making large sailing canoes in which cargos and passengers are transported interisland. These canoes are mainly sold to the Polynesian-speaking people of the small atolls of the Western Reef Islands who make their money by voyaging and trading throughout the group. Formerly, they sailed as far as the southern islands of Vanikoro and Utupua, ninety miles south of Santa Cruz Island. These islands depended upon receiving ground shell discs and special lengths of loom-woven fabric of banana fiber, specialties of certain districts of the Reef and Santa Cruz Islands, which were used as currency there. For these they traded feathers used on Santa Cruz Island for the making of feather currency. These shell and fabric currencies of Vanikoro and Utupua have no currency value in the island where they were made, and feather currency has no value in the former islands. [396] [505] [436] [184]

The Santa Cruz Group has a long history of contact with European civilization, beginning with Mendaña's second voyage in 1595. For the most part, however, the early contacts had little effect on the islanders, but were disastrous for the Europeans. Mendaña himself and many of his company died on Santa Cruz Island, Carteret lost some of his men there also when he attempted to land, La Perouse and his entire expedition perished on Vanikoro, and late in the nineteenth century Commodore Goodenough and a dozen Anglican missionaries, including one bishop, met death in several attempts to bring this island group within the confines of the British Empire and Christendom. 177

From 1900 onward the situation began to change. The few recruits who had gone away to work on plantations, and schoolboys who had gone away to mission schools returned [464]